The houses were all built on the same pattern, only some being taller, wider and of better quality wood and thatch than others. 342

Facing the street in line, each house had a verandah running all along its face, and one step took you up from this into the main room of the house. As you entered, this room extended right up to the roof which sloped very steeply down to its eaves, but about twelve feet in, where the roof was just high enough, a platform upper storey was built, looking over a balustrade into the main room below. This platform storey ended where the sloping roof again became too low at the back. The back portion reaching to the height of the roof was used for kitchen and washing rooms. By this time, in the row of houses containing ours, the ground had sloped down to the creek, and the kitchen was continued as a bamboo platform raised high above the mud on piles.

Grandmother, who had become among the wealthiest in the village, had made enlargements and adaptations within these lines. Her house was wider, with the clearing up of an adjacent house. It contained four door spaces in its face, each door space being a uniform seven feet in width throughout the village. The main floor was of fine polished teak boards, the part below the platform storey was walled off into a bedroom which was very badly ventilated and lighted, the back portion was cleared of all washing rooms and made into a large airy kitchen about 30 feet square, and the platform behind was extended right over the water's edge because we had bought a mooring site further up. On this bamboo platform two hatches were put as bathrooms, containing commodes in the European style, whereas other households walked to the common latrines in the first clearing beyond the street.

The people of Ye lived chiefly by the produce of their gardens, the richer ones like Grandmother sending out to big towns their durians, coconuts, areca nuts, or fish and oysters from the sea, the poorer ones vending fish and vegetables daily around the town, making thatch roofing out of *dani* (nipah) leaves, acting as boatmen up and down the creek, helping to work the gardens and paddy-fields of other families. 244 226 463

My grandmother's household during these years consisted of herself, two aunts, one widow and one spinster, an uncle next to my father in age, my young Uncle Pyant and various cousins, one, two and three wombs removed from us. My elder uncle, Uncle Thet Hnan, had never been out of Ye; after going through the monastery he had worked in the gardens instead of going to an English-teaching school. It gave us an uncanny feeling to see him so like my father in build and general appearance and so dissimilar from him in speech, thought and habits. He now owned gardens up at Chaung-bya, and had five children all of whom had been brought up in Ye. My three boy cousins had been 592

[Lat Ye--Analyst]

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma (Europeans) (Indians) AP1
Burmese AP4

do no harm in Rangoon rice dealings, and would win that respect from the farmer which heavy payments and cunning never will.

Rangoon still continues to be the largest rice port in the world. From January to May the river is crowded with shipping—huge iron and steel sailing craft that have been chartered beforehand, and carry off thousands of bags in their capacious holds; and a constant succession of "ditchers," as the steamers passing through the Suez Canal are called, which come "seeking," and seldom have to go away without their full complement of "five parts cargo rice," or "Europe milled." The steamers are displacing the sailing ships, and the shorter passage now makes it possible to carry fully husked rice home without the danger of heating, which was supposed to be avoided by the partly husked "five parts cargo rice." Harbour-masters and river-pilots have a busy time, and gather together many pieces of silver against the later months of the year, when they will have abundant leisure to spend them. Coringi coolies swarm in the town, and their monotonous chant, "Eh-ya-mah-la Tah-ma-lay, Madras Ag-boat Tah-ma-lay," may be heard at any hour of the night or the morning, floating over the river. The British sailor overflows into the town and sings noisy old salt sea-songs round about the Sule pagoda, gets mad drunk on arrack, and not unseldom clears Dalhousie Street with a linked-arm rush, heedless of the red-turbaned guardian of the peace, who keeps out of the way in the meantime, but will break poor drunken Jack's head with his truncheon if he finds him helpless and strayed from his fellow-roysterers.

The Pazundaung Creek, where all the mills are, is as busy as an ant-hill all day long, and all night too, when some of the mills are lighted up with Jablochkoffs or later forms of electric light, and the silvery rays shine ghastly on the black and bronzed mill-workers. Here we have the Madrasi coolies again, making noises, according to their nature, as a kind of assertion that they are doing hard work. The lank Chittagonian firemen, with their aquiline noses, are coated with coal-dust, and divide their time between firing up and having a whiff at the hubble-bubble when Sandy,

2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma (Europeans Chinese) AP1
Burmese AP4

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the Scotch engineer, is not looking. There is a cluster of Chinese carpenters, chipping away with their queer thick-headed axes and planes, which, with characteristic perversity, they pull towards them, instead of pushing away as other workmen do. Here is M——, the English "assistant" at the mill, his hat and coat all covered with rice-dust, which hangs in queer fashion on his eyebrows and moustache. He is in high spirits. "We've got twenty-four pair of stones going to-day, more than anybody else in the creek;" and he goes off to see how the Burmese girls are stitching up the rice-bags, a duty of which he is particularly fond, and over which he spends a quite unnecessary amount of time. There is R——'s voice on the other side of the creek. He is storming at some men in the cargo-boat, who have done something wrong—anchored in the wrong place, or not started for the upper mill at Kemendine last night as they ought to have done. R—— has a voice which is the terror of every loitering coolie and dawdling boat-wallah in his employ; and he will be as hoarse as a North Sea pilot by nightfall, and will want a "double-barrelled" whisky and soda to moisten him before dinner. He wants company down to "the Point," and presently comes skimming across in his gig, manned by Chittagonian Kalassies, and we drop down the creek—they call small rivers creeks in the East—to where it joins with the main Rangoon stream. The Pegu river, tapping the country north-east and north of Rangoon, comes in at the same place; and there is a great crowd of paddy-boats here in the early morning. Each firm has its brokers, middlemen who make the purchases from the farmers that come down with their grain. They have been here since daylight, and fly about in their little dug-outs from one seller to another. The great point in a broker seems to be power of lungs and fluency in abuse. The amount of yelling that goes on at "Monkey Point" would silence the bookmakers' ring at Epsom on a Derby day.

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R—— has not come down to this pandemonium for nothing. There are a couple of big ships in, which must be filled, or there will be demurrage to pay, and a "canal-wallah" is expected this afternoon or to-morrow morning; so that the wheels must be kept going their hardest.

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

chorus in the usual way. The song treats in a rambling way of the past history of the village, its ancient glories and heroes; its victories in boat-races, boxing matches, or mains of cocks. Interpolated are catch phrases for the guidance of the dancers. At a certain word all spring to their feet; they sway to the right, to the left; white handkerchiefs are drawn from the belt and waved to the measure of the refrain, peeled white wands replace them; they pirouette simultaneously, they troop round in procession in movements resembling figures in the Lancers or the Haymakers, the time varying with the measure of the song, dying away in plaintive sounds almost to quiescence, and then suddenly rising to excited movement of every limb as the words tell of a let-pwè, in which some local hero of the fancy did glorious deeds, or a fight long years ago when the village spearmen carried the day. Then the measure changes again, the alterations in time being always heralded by some such refrain as to yein daw tha, le maung yo wa, a kind of warning hung out after the manner of the first word of a military command. Occasionally, a yein troupe which has acquired particular skill and renown travels about the country on special invitation. Rangoon is often supplied with its "country dances" in this way, the townspeople not having the time, or being too numerous to form a good company for themselves. But they very rarely become regular professionals in the same way as the play actors do; they never perform ostensibly to gain a living, and the dances always occur on some fête day, whether in their own place or in the village to which they have been invited. Their instructor always receives a sum of money to recompense him for his trouble and to pay for the expenses of his troupe. Yein pwès are performed ordinarily in private houses or on a public platform, when it is a religious or special festival. A yein is a favourite way of greeting a great man, or an English official on his arrival in a village. It is not so expensive as a zat pwè, is more quickly arranged, allows the sons and daughters of the chief people to distinguish themselves, and lasts just as long as the person it is intended to honour pleases.

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2:Scott G-5 (1870's-1909)1910 AP1 Burma (Chinese Indians) AP1
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village therefore remained, and has served to drag out a long suburb beyond the Arakan pagoda as a kind of connecting link. Numbers of later arrivals, however, settled in the royal City of Gems, and the wealthier merchants all eventually moved their headquarters thither, so that his majesty triumphed in the end. The best houses in Mandalay, the only brick ones, in fact, till the British came, are all in the possession of the Chinese and Indian merchants. Burmans had neither the right nor the money to build anything but wooden erections. These latter have, however, the compensating advantage that they stand all but the most violent earthquakes, while the brick houses, even when they are strengthened by an elaborate wooden framework, usually collapse when there is anything like a heavy shock.

But the great majority of the houses are simply wattled huts, with large open spaces in their rear which serve to keep the town airy and well ventilated. According to Burman custom each house has its little shop with the entire stock in trade displayed to the view of the passer-by. As in all Eastern towns, those who occupy themselves with a regular handicraft all flock together. Thus the umbrella-makers and sellers of saddlery live to the south of the palace, vendors of bamboo-work and lacquered boxes to the west, while the potters and miscellaneous goods shops are mostly along the street that leads to Payā Gyi, the Arakan pagoda.

There was no attempt at metalling any of the roads, except in independent times the broad thoroughfare which led up from the steamer ghaut, past the ministers' residences, up to the outskirts of the town, for Mandalay lies two miles away from the river-bank, the idea being that at Amarapura the noise of the foreigners' steamers disturbed the royal repose. The big stones which represented the metalling on this one road were rather a trouble than otherwise, except to the vultures and egrets in the wet weather, when all around was a sea of mud, and the boulders formed an eligible coign of vantage. Elsewhere the streets were cut into huge ruts, and the bullock-carts went along in the hot weather in a pyramid of dust, and in the rains a ploughed field would be smooth going in comparison. But the gaily-painted carriages which always suggest a dog-kennel on

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14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

II

MAKING A LIVING

Occupations

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The occupational pattern in Tadagale is a highly diversified one. There are thirty-eight principal gainful occupations in which a total of 341 individuals are engaged. A large proportion of these people have secondary and even tertiary pursuits at which they spend part of their time in order to round out a living. The following table shows the outstanding principal occupations in order of frequency.

Table II

Principal Occupations of Villagers

Occupation	No.
Gardener	52
Bus operator (driver, spare)	44
Paddy cultivator	43
Field laborer	38
Dairy farmer	26
Prepared foods seller	20
Urban laborer	19
Trader (middleman)	17
Shopkeeper	15

Some of the other principal occupations, of lesser frequency, are carpenter, fisherman, casual laborer, cowherd, woodcutter, and seamstress.

1. Gardening. The leading mode of making a living is truck gardening. The gardens are located on small patches of ground adjoining dwellings, and range in size from tiny plots up to perhaps 3000 square feet. They are cultivated intensively, four crops a year being usual, and six crops not unknown. The crops include gourds, cucumbers, mustard, cabbage, cauliflower, lettuce, radishes and spinach.

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For all households, the garden supplies the family with the many vegetables that form an indispensable part of the various Burmese curries. Many gardens produce a surplus which is sold in nearby town bazaars or in the larger markets of Rangoon. The trend has been for gardening to become increasingly important as a source of income in recent years, particularly during the period of disturbed conditions in Burma. These conditions have seriously impeded the normal flow of fresh vegetables and fruits to Rangoon from more distant points; thus the people of Tadagale have been provided with an opportunity to secure high prices for almost all the vegetables they can supply.

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14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

One of the most popular foods of these vendors is mohingha. Rice noodles are made by pounding rice into a flour, mixing it with water, and grinding into a paste between two flat stone slabs. After the excess water has been expressed from this paste, it is pushed through sieves with narrow holes, to form noodles. Once dried, the noodles are cooked and mixed with a curry to make mohingha. 252

A beverage sold regularly by food vendors is molesaun. It is made of sugar, coconut milk and bits of rice noodles, mixed together. The villagers consider this drink very tasty and refreshing. 272

7. Shopkeeping and Middleman Trading. The typical shop in the village consists of nothing more than a few large glass jars containing cigars, matches, candy, soap, and various other articles, set out on the porch in front of a house. The stocks of these are very small and are periodically replenished by purchase in Rangoon. Customers are occasional and sales are very small. 414

Seventeen villagers devote their main activity to what we have called middleman trading. These persons make a living by periodically buying quantities of such goods as second-hand lumber from dismantled dwellings, bamboo, cloth, etc., and selling them in the village and nearby places.

8. Urban Labor. The nineteen individuals listed in Table II as urban laborers are employed in a government medical warehouse in Rangoon. They are unskilled workers who perform such tasks as moving boxes of medical supplies in and out of the establishment and arranging them in the warehouse. These people commute daily between Tadagale and their place of work by bus. 464 369

These are the numerically most significant of the variety of occupations followed by villagers. There are six unemployed persons and fourteen who are not gainfully employed because of old age, ill health, or blindness. The great majority of the married women and unmarried girls are occupied most of the time with domestic housework, looking after small children, and helping with gardening. 463

The whole character of the occupational pattern is shifting and unstable. Individuals move opportunistically from one form of activity to another as circumstances change, in an effort to round out a living. Informants stated that in former times the community was much more agricultural, but that owing to loss of land through indebtedness people had gradually left farming for other occupations. 463 178

Income

In analysing our data on income, figures for the Indians of Tadagale have been calculated separately. The Indians are occupationally a homogeneous group, all engaged in dairy farming. The range and average of income within this small group is so far above that of the Burmese that a misleading idea of the community's economic structure would be conveyed were the data on the Indians included in a single, overall computation for the village. 434 [563]

The following tables show family incomes.

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Table III

Family Incomes of Burmese

(In rupees. Rs. 100 = $21)

Income	No. Families
0- 500	42
501-1000	51
1001-1500	26
1501-2000	18
2001-2500	10
2501-3000	6
3001-3500	0
3501-4000	2
4001-4500	1
4501-5000	2
5001-5500	3
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The mean annual family income for the Burmese is Rs. 1186 ($249). The mean annual per capita income is Rs. 259 ($54).

When the family incomes of the Burmese are broken down by the categories of cultivators and non-cultivators, we can make the following comparison.

Table IV

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Family Incomes of Burmese

Income	No. Cultivators	% of Total	No. Non-Cultivators	% of Total
0- 500	6	19	36	28
501-1000	12	38	39	30
1001-1500	5	15	21	16
1501-2000	4	13	14	11
2001-2500	3	9	7	5
2501-3000	2	6	4	3
3001-3500	-	-	-	-
3501-4000	-	-	2	2
4001-4500	-	-	1	1
4501-5000	-	-	2	2
5001-5500	-	-	3	2
	32	100	129	100

14: Brant E-5 (1949-50) 1954 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

The mean annual family income of cultivators is Rs. 1091 ($229), and the mean annual per capita income is Rs. 203 ($42). For non-cultivators, the comparable figures are Rs. 1210 ($254) and Rs. 276 ($57). However, when we compare median family incomes (a more reliable measure of central tendency for our sample) the apparent advantage of non-cultivators disappears; they receive Rs. 900 as against Rs. 910 for cultivators. The only significant difference in the range of incomes for the two groups is that some 7% of the non-cultivators receive incomes over Rs. 3500 ($735), while no cultivator receives over Rs. 3000. However, the idea is prevalent in the village that cultivation is a relatively unprofitable occupation and that it is possible to realize as much or more income by less arduous types of work.

The Indians of Tadagale are much more prosperous in terms of income, as shown below.

Table V

Family Incomes of Indians
(in rupees. Rs 100 = $21)

Income	No. Families
0- 500	0
500-1000	3
1001-1500	1
1501-2000	2
2001-2500	2
2501-3000	3
Over 7000*	4
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(*includes two families of Rs. 7200 each; one of Rs. 8640; and one of Rs. 18,000.)

The mean annual family income for the Indians is Rs. 4030 ($848), and the mean annual per capita income is Rs. 1343 ($281).

Differences in family incomes are not reflected in external status symbols, except in extreme cases. In poor families the type of house is usually bamboo and thatch, while among relatively prosperous families it is more likely to be of plank construction, with perhaps a galvanized iron roof. In the wealthier families the women have more silk longyis for dress occasions. Major differences in economic standing are often shown in the size, elaborateness and expensiveness of ceremonials, such as weddings and boys' initiation ceremonies, and in the contributions made towards the support of the Buddhist monks.

In general, however, wealth differences in Tadagale do not seem to provide any clear basis for differential association of persons. Kinship, which cuts across economic lines, is far more important. Although a few families are generally regarded as well off, they do not live apart from the rest of the community either in the spatial or social sense. Wealth does not appear to have any direct correlation with status, rank or privilege, or to form the

matters, and cases occurred in which he unwittingly signed away title to his property, thinking he was only signing 'loan papers.' In some cases, Burmese cultivators, encouraged by moneylenders, borrowed sums greater than actually required for crop financing and used the excess for sponsorship of ceremonial activities, dramatic presentations, purchasing imported goods never before needed, and so on. 426

The result of this was the tremendous growth of rural indebtedness and much foreclosure by creditors holding mortgages on the land. By the 1930's, about half the cultivated land of Lower Burma was owned by landlords, largely absentee. The once independent Burmese land holder was converted into a rural tenant, or, in many instances, a landless agricultural laborer. Many tenant farmers, dependent upon rent-racking landlords, worked from harvest to harvest with little to show for their efforts beyond perhaps enough of the crop, after payment of rent, hired help, and debts, to feed their families through the planting and growing seasons. Large numbers left agriculture for other pursuits, such as petty clerical jobs in the towns and itinerant trading in imported goods. In Tadagale, for example, in 1949-50 it was possible to record cases of cultivators in such difficult straits that after paying their help and taxes, they did not have enough paddy left for the family granary to last until the next harvest, and were thus in the position of having to purchase in the market, at inflated prices, the very commodity they produced. 178 426 463

2. The Shift in Tadagale. The economic shift within the village may be summarized in terms of modes of employment, resources, imports and exports. 178

a. Employment. Rice agriculture has been decreasing as the land has passed, over time, into the hands of absentee landlords and independent owner-cultivators have become fewer. The tenant farmers are likewise small in numbers. [243] [427]

The manufacture of clothing has also diminished. Formerly, cotton was spun and woven in the village. Now, clothing is very largely obtained by purchase of imported piece goods in Rangoon and having it finished by city tailors and seamstresses. [294]

Oil pressing as an occupation has disappeared. The one remaining presser of oil seeds recently abandoned this work because of the difficulty and high cost of obtaining sesamum seeds from central Burma. [249]

In a few occupations there seems to have been no notable change. These are carpentry and work in bamboo and thatch, which keep a few people occupied; itinerant selling of prepared foods; shopkeeping; and medical practice (indigenous medicine). 178 463

Several occupations are new or increasing in the village. Agricultural wage labor has increased as more people have been unable to secure a living as tenant farmers and have gone to work for others in and near the village. Vegetable gardening, always important because of the nearby Rangoon markets, has become a leading occupation, especially since the beginning of the insurrections in 1948 which reduced the supply of fresh vegetables from the north.

As motor transport has replaced animal transport over the years, the men of Tadagale have been increasingly employed in operating buses. Related to this is the establishment of a repair shop by a motor mechanic to service the buses owned by villagers.

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An increase has occurred in the number of individuals engaged in small-scale middleman trading. Such manufactured items as candles, mats, jewelery, and books are bought in Rangoon and sold increasingly in the village and nearby.

Wage labor of an unskilled sort has increased. Some villagers have found jobs in a warehouse in Rangoon, others in a mental hospital not far from the village. A very small number have become office and clerical workers.

Unemployment is said to be a new development, although these people are only a few.

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b. Resources. Both cultivated land and grazing land resources have declined. The grazing land is very badly eroded, with little grass left. Fishing resources remain steady; the large Pazundaung Creek at the eastern edge of the village yields as many fish as ever.

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c. Imports. There has been a decrease, as indicated earlier, in the amount of Burma-grown cotton that comes into the village for making of clothing. A variety of miscellaneous food items, such as salt, dried chilis, cigars, cooking oil, betel, potatoes, onions, and various spices are obtained from the outside as much as in the past. Increasingly sought beyond the village are building materials, housewares of all types, clothing, and medicine.

d. Exports. The amount of rice sold has declined, while the sale of cooked foods, fresh vegetables, labor and services has increased.

In 1949-50 the villagers of Tadagale felt that their economic lot had worsened over the preceding several years, owing to the aftermath of World War II and the instability prevailing in Burma. The most pressingly felt needs were for land and the curbing of inflationary high prices, and hope was expressed that the plans of the national government in these and other matters might bring some measure of relief.

563 within the past two or three decades. In almost every way, they form a
463 village within the village. They are spatially clustered together, apart from
184 the Burmese. Their living is earned by dairying; milk from their cattle and
[262] water buffaloes is sold in Rangoon, for cash, to Muslim restaurants. Since the Burmese do not consume milk, the Indian dairymen find no market for their product in the community. The only economic relationship between the two groups consists of some exchange of Burmese paddy stalk, when the harvest is over, for animal manure. The Indians use the paddy stalk as fodder for their animals, while the Burmese use animal manure to some extent for their not very fertile garden and rice lands.

563 The Indians being Hindus, the Burmese Buddhists, the two groups have no
571 basis for common participation in religious or ceremonial life. Nor is there
556 more than a negligible tendency towards intermarriage; our census showed two cases.

As shown by our figures on income, the Indians as a group are far more prosperous than the Burmese. Although the Burmese seem to realize this, they tend to phrase the matter not so much in terms of greater wealth of the Indians as in terms of how little the Indian spends of his income. To the average Burmese of the village, the Indian is something of a lesser breed who lives on next to nothing and so grows rich.

563 Throughout the course of research in Tadagale, an effort was made from time to time to study intergroup feelings and attitudes, but this was a subject on which informants who were quite ready to discuss almost any other matter were loath to speak. The Burmese seemed to know little (or at least so professed) about the ways of the Indians; the Indians were very tight-lipped concerning the Burmese.

175 It was towards the close of our work in Tadagale that certain events
669 occurred which brought out, in sharp focus, the nature of Burmese-Indian relations
674 and attitudes, and completely broke the silence maintained earlier. At this point, however, some digression is necessary to provide a background for understanding what took place.

In 1949-50, the internal disturbances which have beset Burma since the end of World War II were at their height. During this time the maintenance of law and order sank to a very low point; robbery, armed and unarmed, was rampant. Tadagale was robbed three times within the preceding year, according to informants. On such occasions, bandits entered the village, fired their guns into the air to frighten the defenseless villagers, and then proceeded to tie up some villagers and remove their money and other valuables. Anyone who resisted was beaten. According to villagers, the police, located about half a mile away, could not be depended upon for protection or for action once a crime occurred, for the bandits were better organized and armed than the police, making the latter extremely reluctant to take any action.

674 Some early evidences of distrust between Indians and Burmese appeared
563 about the middle of our research period, when an Indian dairyman stated that he
175 was convinced that the bandits who periodically invaded Tadagale had Burmese collaborators in the village. He based his belief on the fact that the bandits seemed always to find their way directly to the homes of the more prosperous inhabitants, which knowledge, he claimed, could be gotten only from villagers.

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

a boy who cannot. If there were more nunneries, there would be more education among the women; here is cause and effect. But there are not, so the little girls work instead. While their brothers are in the monasteries, the girls are learning to weave and herd cattle, drawing water, and collecting firewood. They begin very young at this work, but it is very light; they are never overworked, and so it does them no harm usually, but good.

The daughters of better-class people, such as merchants, and clerks, and advocates, do not, of course, work at field labour. They usually learn to read and write at home, and they weave, and many will draw water. For to draw water is to go to the well, and the well is the great meeting-place of the village. As they fill their jars they lean over the curb and talk, and it is here that is told the latest news, the latest flirtation, the little scandal of the place. Very few men or boys come for water; carrying is not their duty, and there is a proper place for flirtation. So the girls have the well almost to themselves.

Almost every girl can weave. In many houses there are looms where the girls weave their dresses and those of their parents; and many girls have stalls in the bazaar. Of this I will speak later. Other duties are the husking of rice and the making of cheroots. Of course, in richer households there will be servants to do all this; but even in them the daughter will frequently weave either for herself or her parents. Almost every girl will do something, if only to pass the time.

They have no accomplishments. They do not

16:Fielding Hall G-3 (1885-1890) 1898 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

262 779 and these were sold occasionally. It is ten years since King Thibaw was overthrown, and there is now no law against the sale of beef. And yet, as I have said, no respectable Burman will even now kill or sell beef. The law was founded on the beliefs of the people, and though the law is dead, the beliefs remain.

231 779 It is true that the taking of life is against Buddhist commands. No life at all may be taken by him who adheres to Buddhistic teaching. Neither for sport, nor for revenge, nor for food, may any animal be deprived of the breath that is in it. And this is a command wonderfully well kept. There are a few exceptions, but they are known and accepted as breaches of the law, for the law itself knows no exceptions. Fish, as I have said, can be obtained almost everywhere. They are caught in great quantities in the river, and are sold in most bazaars, either fresh or salted. It is one of the staple foods of the Burmese. But although they [463] will eat fish, they despise the fisherman. Not so [554] much, perhaps, as if he killed other living things, but still, the fisherman is an outcast from decent society. He will have to suffer great and terrible punishment before he can be cleansed from the sins that he daily commits. Notwithstanding this, there are many fishermen in Burma.

A fish is a very cold-blooded beast. One must be very hard up for something to love to have any affection to spare upon fishes. They cannot be, or at all events they never are, domesticated, and most of them are not beautiful. I am not aware that they have ever been known to display any

MEK

Work in Pathwe

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U Myaing is an IN fisherman and in normal times he is helped by his family in catching and preparing fish. Another source of revenue is also renting out oxen and the making of mats usually relied on only when there is little other work. He regards himself as "one who works INS on a large scale", and on further questioning it appears that he was a sort of foreman working with a group of IN fishermen. About 95 other workers in Pathwe made their living by fishing and fish processing, but there were also some cultivators. In addition there were 9 or 10 in the paddy husking business, 4 or 5 merchants and one gardener. With these few introductory remarks let us examine in some detail the nature of IN fishing.

U Myaing describes the IN fishery of which he was a part as follows:-

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"The IN is located upstream about two miles from Pathwe. The trap is remade every year and costs anywhere from Rs. 5000/- to Rs. 10,000/- to make. It takes twenty men about one month to make the trap. First we plant timber poles, after which we put up the YIN- strips of bamboo held together by coconut fibre rope, in such a manner as to present a large flat surface. When the YIN has been safely put up (across the entire width of the stream) the fish are carried down (by the current) through the SHAW (inclined plane of the sluice) and they are caught at the end. At the deep end the bamboo fence is about 16 taungs high and only a little of the poles remain above water. These poles have to propped up by other timber poles. Then the YIN are placed across these poles and tied in position. All the water has to flow along this small channel, and the force of the current washes up the fish (at the end of the SHAW). The poles are hammered down into the earth to a depth of one LAN (one yard) The water passes through the dam, but the fish cannot. The fish cannot swim upstream again because of the force of the water in the narrow sluice, which is only about eight taungs across. The length of the trap is approximately 100 feet whereas the width across the stream is 200 feet. When the floods are high at times the fish do get away. The water spills over and the fish do escape. We catch the remaining fish. When the water increases we have to extend the dam sideways a long way. But the height of the dam cannot be raised. In the dry season those fish which have gone over are left stranded outside the IN by the retreating waters. Some people fish below the dam with nets and fish hooks.

"When the rains come, that is the time they spawn. This time is called NGA-YIT-TET time. At this time the fish group together to go upstream. The better the rains, the better the catch. After these fish have passed, the MEK is closed. The fish spawn at the beginning of the rains after they have collect and passed upstream. At about the month of TAN-THA-LIN (last month of the rains season) the MEK is closed and the fish that come down with the force of the water are picked up. If many fish go upstream - fish that spawn, then we get a good catch. If only few spawning fish go up, we get a bad catch. Even

it out to dry in the sun throughout the next day, then pound again and store in jars. The total process takes two days."

U Myaing continues his explanation of the IN fishery:-

"The fishery is worked on a co-operative basis. We contribute equal sums of money. If one puts up Rs. 100/- all put up Rs.100/-; if Rs.1000/- all put up Rs.1000/- each. We group together and work. Rights to the site of the fishery must be secured from the government by auction. We have to make an initial payment of about Rs. 1000/- or Rs. 2000/- and in bidding among ourselves the price increases to eight thousand, nine thousand, ten thousand, twelve thousand. The original price was three thousand rupees. This is the cost of the Deputy Commissioner's auction. There were many bidders at the auction for the IN. Four, five, six. For example if I give a thousand rupees you offer two thousand, he gives three, four, five thousand ..... When it comes to the hand of the successful bidder the price has increased. The money for the fishery rights have to be paid in later (after the fishing has begun). For example if I pay in a thousand rupees this month, I pay a thousand the next month and the next, in several instalments. This is in addition to the amount we sink into the actual working of the business. (Cost of constructing the IN and equipment).

"The fishermen do not get paid a salary. They have shares. Accounts are kept of how much fish is caught, how much sold, and only after the IN has been worked to the end of the season is everything cleared up. Each fisherman gets only one share, and the profits are equally divided. We have to pay equal amounts of money for the IN and the money we get from the IN is the same for each of us. We all group and work together. There are some INS where one takes the lead and engages all the men and works it for himself. What he gets he keeps for himself. He pays the wages. In selling, we discuss the matter among ourselves and then sell. The four or five elders get together and if they decide to sell this kind of fish for this price, it is sold.

"As one of the elders, I go alone and bid at the auctioning in the Deputy Commissioner's office. I also supervise the actual fishing saying to the other fishermen - "Do this, and this and this." I have a list of what things they need and have to go and buy these things for them. I have to buy poles, I have to buy YIN bamboo, I have to buy all the implements which are to be used. I have to collect money, and buy all the implements used in the IN. I have to keep accounts for this. I get a bit more money (than the other fishermen) by making goods (from the profits of manufacture). You see, I also make dried Nga-gyi fish and Ngapi-daung. I buy the fish from them and process it. I have not worked at INS all my life. I worked for about ten years at the time when the British king reigned. When the Japanese came I worked at INS no longer."(He then bought fish and sold the preparations.)

U Myaing gives the following supplementary information:

" There are ten leaders or foremen in the village, each of them taking charge of about seven or eight men. In all there are about eighty workers in the three sub-villages of Pathe working with me at our IN. About tairty or forty of these live in INS-GYI-BET on our side of the river. These are men working at our IN only. There are also workers living in the village who work in the six other INS of the neighbourhood. About a hundred of the two hundred families in YWA-GYI-BET work INS. The rest process the fish, dry it, make ngapi etc., and to do this they have to buy the fish from the IN workers. Afterwards they sell to buyers who come from Upper Burma. Or sometimes they go upcountry in boats and steamers to sell the produce. Some people who are not IN workers go to the INS and help to extract fish oil. Fish like Nga-Nyare-daung yeild about one viss of oil to every 10 viss of fish. The fish are cut open with a knife and the fat collected. The women come and help without payment and take home oil for themselves when they go back. The women of my household also used to do this.

also used to do this. Sometimes they are able to extract about 5 viss of oil each in one day. 226 463 621

"There are also cultivators in the village. Some of those who work INS also own fields. They rent out the land to tenants. There are altogether 12 people in our village who own cultivation fields. But the biggest landowner does not own lands more extensive than three hundred acres. Some own 40 or 50 acres. Some engage cultivators and work their fields themselves, while others rent out the fields for a certain percentage of the produce. 421 463 621 427

"There were paid workers in the IN. They were paid, not a daily wage, but a monthly salary of Rs. 30/- without food. About 50 of the 80 workers were paid workers, though some of them owned shares as well. In addition to their pay, these paid workers received quite a lot of fish which their families went around selling. They get one or two basket-loads of fish to sell, and in this way make quite a lot of money. 226 463 465

"Fish is not distributed in this manner every day - only when the fish start coming down in great numbers. On these occasions however the workers get about 25 to 30 viss each - that is, by the boatload. Ordinarily they are given just enough for one meal.

"I also own eleven cows; eight for loaning out to cultivators and three for breeding purposes. No milk is drawn for human consumption because that is not the custom in our native place." 231 [272]

One yoke of oxen hired out brought U Myaing 50 baskets of paddy a year. He had 4 yokes. They kept by 100 baskets for home consumption and sold the rest at a rate fluctuating between Rs. 100/- and Rs. 175/- per hundred baskets.

In those years when U Myaing works at INS, he has to confine himself to such work only. During those years when he does not work at INS, he buys the fish from IN workers and process them for sale as NGAGYI, NGA-CHAUK, etc. Each year he uses between four to five thousand fish. When U Myain his co-workers could not get an IN, he had to buy fish and make NGA-CHAUK, (dried fish), NGAPI and NGANPYAR-YE. 226 463 433

On his former visits to Rangoon U Myaing came in a boat loaded with NGAGYI CHAUK (dried NGA GYI) and transferred it to the care of a broker in Rangoon. He then ascended the Shwe Dagon pagoda platform, donated money and water, returned to the broker, and went around the town to places like Mogul Street (the Indian quarter) for meats and ate pillau-rice etc. It took three or four days, and sometimes about ten days for the broker to dispose of his goods and in this time he would go round all the pagodas in Rangoon like the Botataung, Sule, Kyauktawgyi etc. Once he went to a Chinese hotel known as the NAN-HIN hotel together with some traders from DANUBYU. They pooled the expenses. The journey home took a day and a night. He took back with him clothes, longyis, KINGYIS, durian fruit, 226 438 484 [778]

285 H37 they make made by friends. Ma Aye Myaing and Daw Aw Zar appear to specialize in the larger mats such as used for sleeping. Mat making appears to be an occupation which in ordinary times is unimportant but it is relied heavily upon in bad times.

461 562 561 [277] 874 [294] The children are put to work around the house and in processing the fish at an early age. Just recently U Myaing's eldest daughter left school to learn a trade. She left one month ago from the fourth standard, to learn cheroot rolling. In another month's time she will have learnt how. She does not have to pay any fees - neither is she paid for her help. She lives with her aunt (U Myaing's sister) and has her meals there. Near their house there is also an embroidery shop which is owned by her aunt. At night U Myaing's daughter is taught embroidery and sewing by her aunt. The owner of the cheroot rolling shop is not a relative, but the women who work there are aunts and grand-aunts of the girl. When she has learnt the trade, then she will be paid between two and three rupees a day on piece work basis.

● 463 363 512 At present (May 1951) U Myaing is working as a sweeper in the Rangoon Municipality on a monthly wage of Rs. 80/-. There is an overseer placed over him every day. U Myaing's main job is to keep one street in town clean. He leaves his house at six and arrives at the overseer's by half past six and there a roll-call is taken of about a hundred of them. At seven he begins on his street and stops at about half-eight to go to answer the roll-call (see below for rest of schedule).. He has personal contact only with the overseer, the doctor and the WUNDAUK (official). All three of them go around the town to see if they work hard enough. The WUNDAUK also comes everyday to witness the roll-call. "If we do not do good work we shall be dismissed. Everything is in their hands. But they do so after two or three warnings. We do not possess any rights at all. Sometimes offenders are sent to other streets that require harder labour. "

U Myaing's street is located in Myeni-gon, and he has to clean the street of dirt as well as clean the drains on either side.

His daily schedule at present is as follows: He rises at 4, washes his face and cleans his teeth, says his prayers and then has plain tea which Ma Aye Myaing has prepared for him. At six he leaves

And arrives at the overseer's by half six. There he answers the roll-call, after which he leaves for his work location and starts work at 7. At 8. 30 he has a bath and then goes back to answer the roll-call which is called about a quarter to ten. He then returns home for breakfast and a rest. At 12.30 he leaves the house again in time for the roll-call at one o'clock. He starts work at 1. 30 or 2 o'clock and works till ten minutes past 4, at which time he starts back for the evening roll-call. This is taken at a quarter to 5, and he is through for the day. If U Myaing has not bathed in the morning he does so before he returns. When he returns he eats his dinner alone, the others all having eaten already, and after that he works on mats if there are any orders on hand. If there are none he just sits around and spends the evening in general conversation, sometimes sipping plain tea. After that he says his prayers and retires for the night. His bed time is not fixed. Sometimes he sleeps at 8 or 9, and sometimes works till 11 or 12 in the night if there are mats to weave.

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Comparison of Work in Pathwe and Camp

In his role as a refugee U Myaing is reduced from an expanding position as a fisherman in a cooperative enterprise to a transient labourer. He lives for the day of return to his village, and lacks the desire and know-how to adapt to a successful career in his new environment. His pattern of work as a labourer has not been broken he is simply doing a different kind of work. But it is now unskilled and lacks promise of development. Similarly, his wife's role has not appreciably changed: she continues to make mats as in the village in hard times; works as a coolie as a substitute for her contributions in processing fish. The eldest daughter has adapted to an urban trade that of cigar rolling, but is well within the pattern of juvenile work carried on in the village at this time. If the family remained in Rangoon, the children would of course adapt completely to the urban work pattern - but is seems improbable that the parents would.

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The reduction in income from work can be seen in the following table:

Estimate of Family Average Income per year

Family Work	Income in Pathwe	Camp
Selling Fish Products	1,500	
Mat making	150	600
Cattle Loaning	200	
Day Labour		1,032
Miscellaneous (gathering, etc.)	900	
Daughter Ma Yin Shwe		240
Government Help		372
Total	2,750	2,144

The purchasing power of the rupee in Camp is not so very appreciably different from that of Pathwe. The security of Pathwe work was not so much in the surplus which results, but rather in the guaranteed sources of work. Life was easy and a living to be had for the taking. In camp existence is hand to mouth with no real security. U Myaing expresses this when asked about his knowledge of world affairs: "We don't know whether the world situation has improved or not. We get some of information, but our main worry is work - and how to provide

General Attitudes of the Burmese toward Work.

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Rank and status in the Burmese Village is determined to a large extent on the basis of occupation - with the factor of wealth where applicable taking precedence over occupation. The highest rank is accorded to the Buddhist monks who exert the ultimate influence. Government officials including the township officers, the THU GYI (headman) and elders, and the schoolmaster occupy the second rank. The large land owners (of this group the rice-mill owners rate highest) rank next. Below these are the tradesmen - the paddy dealers, shop keepers and small holdings farmers who comprise the bulk of the population. Professional artisans such as carpenters, blacksmiths, gold and silver smiths occupy a lower position. However, it is common for the small holdings farmers to practice a secondary occupation such as pottery making.

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Fishermen and hunters are looked down on by the rest of the community because they offend Buddhist precepts by taking life. In this class also are those who raise animals (cows, poultry, pigs) for food, smugglers and brewers. Fishermen, particularly those such as U Myaing who operate IN fisheries often become wealthy, but the stigma of the source of this wealth is remembered by the community.

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A story is told of a rich fisherman who came to cover the Shwe Dagon Pagoda in Rangoon with gold plate. Unfortunately, he had sinned so much by taking the lives of fish that he could not see the pagoda. In a rage he returned to his IN to cover its posts with the gold. Because of the stigma attached to fishing those who make their living in this way tend to live together in their own communities. Thus Pathae, U Myaing's village is primarily a fisherman's community.

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In the days of the Burmese kings, wealthy men and nobles (THAKIN) would assign people under their command to serve as pagoda slaves. Their names were engraved in stone and their descendants for all eternity assigned to this position. The duties were light - consisting mainly of sweeping the platforms and carrying for the images, but the social position was next to the lowest. It is believed that the flower vendors on the platform of the Rangoon

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the husband is too old to work. Aged parents are invariably respected but those who can still support themselves are "worshipped". Parents do not rely on their sons who have their own families to support but feel that their daughters will always "bring them a cup of curry".

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The third urge is to have wealth to donate to the Buddhist church. This is regarded as a sound investment since it not only brings a most satisfying honour especially in old age (to be a "pagoda giver") but also counts as merit credited to the individual's account in eternity.

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Competition is keenly felt between individuals and families of the same occupation group or adjacent groups but not between the lower and upper classes. An exception is where family traditional land has changed hands - and hard feelings may persist. A carpenter's family does not envy and covet the riches of a government official's family. His lot is due to KARMA and even if he wished to attain such fortune it would be beyond his abilities. More important, it is not expected of him. So the carpenter is content with cheap jewelry for his women and an occasional gold coin - but the pattern is the same as for the upper class. However among the individuals and families of an occupation level there is much rivalry for the benefits wealth can bring. It is a point of pride to have the largest diamonds at a social function, and to give the biggest pagoda. Wives brag that their husbands "prevent the hairs of their hands from singeing" - that they have servants to cook. Rank and recognition are based on these considerations.

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The women of the family exert powerful influence in financial matters and are respected for their sound judgement. Women's occupations include cigar manufacturing, pottery making, and especially shop keeping.

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The beginning of an enterprise is conditioned by the wisdom of the ancients and especially the date and place which are given by formula in the Burmese calendar. There are NET-NAYA (day king of) "fortunate days" and PYAD-KHADA "unlucky days". For example the calendar announces that Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays of a particular month are fortunate days to begin enterprises, and other days either unfortunate or neutral. Rangoon sophisticates (but never villagers) tell such stories as this: Two phongyis travelled by boat; the first boarded the boat on a fortunate day to begin travelling. The next day the boat came to the second phongyi's village. This was an unfortunate

776 of the villagers. The head-nat, the guardian of the village, replies
753 with accusations that "the whole village has forgotten me", boasts of
688 his powers to punish and is finally mollified. In Rangoon there are
672 professional nat-givers who parade the streets with a cart bearing the
782 image of "the conquerer of the salty waters" (special nat of entrepre-
●[463] neurs). For a few annas he will make offerings to the nat and relieve the busy townspeople of this task.

776 The arrangement is a mutual one where the people enjoy freedom
782 from oppressions in return for certain concessions. This phenomenon closely parallels the traditional relationship between the rulers and the ruled in Burma. In a real sense the nat concept serves the function of allowing the Burmese a sense of control over catastrophic forces which do not fall into any other system (as secular, political,
[177] personal relationships, cosmology.). It is this system of controls that the western scientific system most immediately competes with. The administrative and entrepreneur class of Burmese especially in Rangoon say they "Do not believe"in nats. But it is usual for most individuals no matter what their western background to apply to nats in cases of ill fortune "just in case".

775 THAYEH (Ghosts) generally are a group of supernatural spirits closely related to nats in their origins but with a different set of properties. These are "recently" deceased individuals whose crimes and sins while on earth or manner of death condemn them to an eternity of wandering and mischief-making. Actually, each person becomes a ghost at death but is ordinarily released from earth at the moment of the interment of the corpse for judgement in heaven. Those who die of
[761] "raw death" become ghosts. These include: death in childbirth, by wild animals (especially tigers), instant deaths by dahs as in warfare, or by hanging. In Maung Maung Than's village a prominent ghost is U Me Gyi (Mr. Blacky) a very sinful fellow who lived 50 or 60 years ago in the village. His complexion is quite black and horribly distorted. He inhabits a banyan tree and specializes in causing infant illness. Offerings of rice at the tree pacifies him. Ghosts are forces for evil only - evil of the more irritating and less important kind.
751 Older people wear red and white coloured strings about their necks as a protection against ghost evils. It is very common to wear a LET-PWET

(arm-tie) charm consisting of a small metal tube bound about the upper arm or neck and containing an inscription written by a pongyi on silver or aluminum foil. Once a year, after new years (in March), a PAYA-YUDA (prayer-recite) ceremony is held. At this time pongyis recite the precepts of Buddha for the benefit of the ghosts - who "become hot and run away". Younger people, especially children, are susceptible to being possessed by ghosts. At this time they "throw fits" and are uncontrolable. Under the supervision of a pongyi the ghost is cast out by means of threats and beatings administered to the person of the possessed one. Beatings are severe and continuous often lasting an hour, until the ghost says he is "afraid" and departs. The possessed one, thus cured, does not later complain of rough treatment since this is borne by the invading ghost. Perhaps this relates to the less formulated, "nameless horrors" of unseen and unaccountable forces that cause otherwise unexplainable events - which concept pervades much of western thought to this day.

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A major difference between nats and ghosts is that ghosts cause only harm while nats are ordinarily beneficial in the manner described above. Ghosts may also be controlled for evil purposes against individuals in a variety of black magic. The specialists in black magic are PAH-YOH-GA-SAYA (influence-masters) of black magic or "lower root", (hell-evil), who administer the evil influence. Witches also have personal magic powers that allow them to cause harm to an individual by introducing foreign matter such as lumps of meat, hair balls, into the body of the victim. It is never known for sure who the witches are but old women of peculiar habits, and especially of the fisherman's group, are suspected. Such individuals are considered generally malivalent and special precautions are needed to avoid offending them. The influence masters, however, are well known and receive gift-fees for performing services either of causing or controlling black magic influences. Both groups, but especially the influence masters of the lower root control ghosts for their purposes.

- "upper root" (heaven) masters combat the "lower root evil"

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A major means of securing control of a ghost or "ghost-rearing" is to get the finger bone of a recently deceased person who died a "raw death". Incantations said over the bone insures the obedience of

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21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

The orchestra, in the intervals between scenes, played a tune appropriate to the next scene: a royal march for a throne-room scene, a 'battle tune' for a martial scene, a 'woodland tune' for a forest scene, and so on. The tunes were so well known that the audience recognized them at once. The orchestra also played in the middle of a scene, when certain actions could not be satisfactorily represented, as in *Parpahein*, scene 7, where the brothers were supposed to be climbing the palace-walls, and in *Paduma*, scene 4, where the hero was presumed to be swimming in the river to rescue the criminal. The costumes of the actors were picturesque, but not more gorgeous than those of the Elizabethans. They wore appropriate court dresses. The king in full regalia when holding an audience, the ministers in their velvet gowns, the princes and princesses in gold and jewels appeared striking, but except for the material which was silk, the dresses were not expensive, for the seeming gold and jewels were all imitation. Masks were worn for special purposes. Ogre, *naga*-dragon, *galón*-bird, had masks of their own, which the actors representing them wore. When an ogress was supposed to have assumed human form, the actress representing her raised the mask on to the forehead, making the face visible. A soldier on horseback or on an elephant was represented simply by an actor in uniform holding a dummy horse's head or elephant's head. Actors taking the part of gods wore shining dress, which was traditionally believed to be worn by all gods. The dresses were not the creations of actors. The court dresses of course were copied from those actually worn at court, but the dresses of gods and other spirits and the masks were copies from the stone images which had adorned the platforms of pagodas even before the rise of Pagan in the eleventh century. Perhaps it is not irrelevant to mention that Burmese dramatic performances, in spite of the dependence on the music of the orchestra, were not like masques, for the stage scenery was not elaborate. In this connexion, it should be mentioned that the Burmese actors used the mask purely for the purpose of representing certain characters, and masked dancing was unknown.[1]

An acting troupe consisted of actors proper and members of the orchestra. Women were freely admitted to the troupe, but they were all actresses. Playing in the orchestra was deemed to be a man's

[1] In Siam, even at the present day, the king has special dancers who perform in masks. Masked dancing, for religious purposes, is also known in Tibet.

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

536* part, although there was no stage convention preventing women from
534 taking it up as a vocation. The head of the orchestra was also the
462 head of the troupe. He was the most learned and experienced
463 member, and he was responsible for the organization and financial outlay, paying more or less fixed wages to the others, and taking the profits himself. When engaged for a performance, the troupe was paid by public subscription or by some philanthropic person, usually an official, and therefore no charge for admission was made, all being
[565] welcome to it. The Burmese actors as a class, unlike their Elizabethan counterparts who could endow a College of God's Gift or buy a coat-of-arms, were poor. But they never starved, for even the poorest villages would welcome and feed them on their wanderings all over the country. The troupe was one large family, and the children of the members accompanied it. In spite of the prejudice against them and their poverty, the actors loved their art, and enjoyed the performances themselves.

536* There were many conventions connected with the stage, and they can be divided into two classes: those imposed on the actors by themselves, and those imposed by the fear of becoming unpopular with the audience.

795 The actors never forgot that they were originally spirit-dancers,
536* and therefore they had conventions by which they showed their indebtedness to spirit worship. Before the performance offerings of food were made to the thirty-seven *nats*. As a curtain-raiser, there was a performance by a dancer or chorus of dancers. Each wore a red
[533] cloth round the head—the sign of a spirit worshipper. Singing invocations to the *nats* and dancing the appropriate dances, they asked for protection by the spirits, while the orchestra played a bar from each
[751] of the thirty-seven *nat* tunes. It was supposed that if this convention was broken, disaster would befall the troupe, the performance would prove a failure, and the actors would become mad; but often these conventions had been known to be broken, accidentally or otherwise.

536* The actors were looked upon as irreligious and immoral, and on
463 the slightest excuse, they were in danger of being considered profane.
554 Therefore, as has been stated, they took over the conventions from
[779] the *Nibhatkhin*. The Buddha was never impersonated, and an *arahat* or saint only when absolutely necessary, and then by an able and 'serious' actor, who had to keep a fast that day. Not even a mild joke was to be made against the Buddha or an *arahat*, although even monks and the religion itself could be the butt of a clown's wit. But

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

of course there were limits to the latitude allowed to him. The neglect of these conventions was supposed to result in disaster to the troupe and the death through diarrhoea of the actor who took the part or cracked the joke, and it would certainly result in the whole troupe being beaten by the audience and then put in prison by the officials. On the whole, the charge of irreligiousness attributed to the actors was not justified, and throughout the years, they had never been known even to attempt to evade the conventions. There were also conventions connected with social decorum. Kissing was not allowed on the stage. Although no penalty, supposed or real, was attached to it, this convention has never been broken. The actors could wear reproductions of all the regalia of a king, except the golden shoes, which only the king himself and princes in the line of succession could wear. The breaking of this rule was supposed to result in the death by diarrhoea of the actor who wore the shoes, but it was not punishable as a crime if they were actually worn on the stage, and it is known to have been broken sometimes. All the conventions, including those connected with spirit-dancing, still exist at the present day.

During the decadent period the platform stage, the elaborate scenery and curtains were introduced from French and English sources, for French touring companies often performed before the court towards the close of Mindon's reign (1853–78), and from about 1870 English touring companies of actors often visited Rangoon. With the performances of these companies of European actors, the general public had no contact. At the court the king and a few courtiers, out of respect for the French embassy, witnessed presentations of French operettas, but as they did not understand French and the actors could speak no Burmese, the court found the performances boring at times. At Rangoon the English actors presented musical comedies, or more truly, musical shows, to an audience composed entirely of English residents. It must be stated that the touring actors did in no way introduce specimens of the French or English dramas, for what they presented were third-rate musical shows. But they did introduce some examples of western stage-craft, and the Burmese professional actors, ever on the alert for borrowings, copied wholesale the platform stage, the curtain, and the elaborate stage scenery, with the result that, during the decadent period, the Burmese stage came to be a copy of the European stage. At Rangoon a permanent theatre was even built, a thing unknown to

21: Htin Aung E-5 (ca. 1930) 1937 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

175 536* the same. Therefore after the minister's innovation, the puppet show was actually a combination of two different things, the old puppet show as seen in the animal puppets coming out to dance, and the new puppet play. To many people it must have seemed that the minister did not really introduce any new thing, but only lengthened and made more elaborate that part of the show devoted to the prince [101] and princess. It should be remembered that the Burmese had no puppet drama. In India, in Java, in Siam, in Bali, and in Turkey, there was an actual puppet drama, but in Burma the puppet show was entirely dependent for its plays on the drama of living actors. The minister imposed two restrictions on the puppet show. [656] First, the plays presented by puppets must either be founded on the *Jatakas*, or on the great events in the nation's history. Second, the dress, manners, and customs of the king and his court presented on the puppet stage should be correct in every detail.

536* 463 The innovations of the able minister resulted in the rise of a new class of puppet show-men. They were mostly drawn from the ranks of the professional actors, but they were of proved ability and experience, and had to serve at least some months of apprenticeship. The show-men were never looked down upon, and the living actors themselves held them in respect. The puppet show-men were very conservative. State control ended with the death of the minister, perhaps because his successors were not so able; but the show-men kept their stage exactly the same as it was in the time of the minister, except that they presented the plays of U Kyin U, most of which were founded neither on the *Jatakas* nor on historical events. During the decadent period, the puppets stuck to the 'old' plays, and introduced no innovations either in stage-craft or in dramatic technique. 536* The annexation by the British in 1886 was disastrous to the puppet show, for, unlike the living actors, the puppets were 178 almost totally dependent on court patronage. When the country became peaceful again by about 1885, the puppet show-men made gallant attempts to revive their shows, and all over Burma they gave performances. But the show belonged to a dead past, and the conservatism of the show-men would not allow the introduction of anything new. The old show-men died out, and there were not many new-comers, for the profession demanded a term of apprenticeship and its conservatism did not suit the young men, products of the changed conditions. The result was that the puppet troupes gradually disappeared. In 1921, when a puppet performance was given at

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

No kind of wool is indigenous or is spun or woven in Burma. Cæsar Frederick in 1569 mentions woollen cloth among the goods brought to Burma, *viâ* Arakán. Web vests for boys and men, of European manufacture, are becoming general. The use of shoes of the European shape is bringing in the use of socks and stockings. The addition of a European shirt under the Burman jacket makes up the incongruous kit affected by the modern office clerks. With the increased use of body-linen have come the Indian washermen. The coloured stuffs are washed by the Burman women. The native dyes wash well, especially the silk dyes. An alkali-earth (*sappyu*) is found in Burma, but soap is of modern introduction, and is now sold in every bazár. Needles used to be brought to Burma from China, as well as scissors, though the latter are also fashioned in Burma; at present both are imported from Europe. Burmans work the needle from them, like other Asiatics. The work is pinned to a cushion at the head of a post planted on the work-box. The use of the thimble was unknown until tailors came over from India, but is now general. The bulk of the tailoring is in the hands of immigrants from China; but their prejudice against the sewing-machine is helping to transfer the business to the Burman women. Nearly every well-to-do family in the towns has its sewing-machine.

286 291 [283 439] [296 463] 439 413 286 [177] 463 294

130. LAYING OUT THE WARP.

At sunrise the women start with their water-pots for the day's supply, and again before they cook the evening meal, which finishes the day's work. On the morning errand they do the most of their washing. In the evening they carry a spare cloth to change for the one they bathe in, which they wash and coil into a pad to put between the head and the water-

131. BURMESE CARVING OF WEAVING-LOOM.

462 [532] 512 515

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 API Burma
Burmese AP4

339

191. BRICK MAKERS (p. 97)

CHAPTER V

TRADES AND PROFESSIONS

463 Most artizans in the rural settlements are cultivators as well, plying their special trade in the by-season. The [256] home industries continue to be practised in the seaport towns, where certain of them, such as rice-cleaning, are conducted wholesale (No. 184). The largest plant used in [388] the country villages is the oil-mill (*sizôn*). The cooking-[252] oil of Burma is pressed from the seed of sesamum (*hman*), a black grain resembling [402] rape. It is not so delicate as olive oil, but is used for adulterating the latter. Oil-cake is used for fodder. The mill consists of a great mortar made of the 000 trunk of some hard-timbered tree with a pestle of the same. *Hman* is grown as

192. OIL-MILL

252 Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

211. LATHE POTTERY.

comes upon bricks, and on nearly every hill bricks bear evidence that at some time a *zedi* had crowned the top. In the moist region the disintegrating effect of the vegetation is such that frequently no indication remains of the form of the original structure. The use of brick doubtless came in with the early Buddhist architecture exemplified at Pagán. The brick-fields are on the confines of the rice-fields, and of the same character as to soil, a light loam. The work begins in November after the ground has dried. The surface soil is rejected and the earth dug with mattocks a yard or two deep. The clods are soaked in water and trodden into a doughy mass with an admixture of rice husk. The bricks are moulded direct on the ground, which has been smoothed beforehand, and are left to dry in the sun (No. 181). Before stacking the dried bricks, the lower or rough edge is trimmed with a *dá*. The commonest size of brick is 12" × 6" × 1½". A burn consists of ten thousand bricks and sells for about forty-five rupees. In the dry zone, brick has always been used for house-building to some extent, unless when prohibited by the government. In the south, the brick-work is invariably plastered over with *ingade* to prevent the clay mortar from washing out. Now that bricklaying in Pegu has passed into the hands of masons from India, lime-mortar is usual.

The limestone rocks which are a feature of the Eastern Peninsula, rise abruptly from the plains to heights of one to three thousand feet (No. 107). They are honeycombed with fissures which facilitate quarrying. During the floods, boats can approach and be loaded with the stone. Lime is used for whitewash, plaster, mortar, and for chewing

213. FANCY POTTERY, SHAN.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

The cordage used in 283

215. LIMESTONE ROCKS.

Burma is twisted from the bast of the *shaw* tree (*sterculia* varieties). For guys, stays, and standing rigging of boats, rattan is employed. Split rattan is used for strong ties, and withes of split bamboo (*hnit*) for common ties. The *shaw* rope is three and four stranded, and is twisted with native gear very like that of our own rope-walks. A long and even four-stranded rope is made by three men. This furnishes a good example of mechanical advancement, when compared with the method of the hill-people, who require six men to twist a much shorter rope of the same number of strands (Nos. 219–20). Shaw rope is smooth, but has not the flexibility of cocoanut-fibre and manila-fibre ropes, which are now imported. Fine cotton yarn is twisted into cord for making nets. A coarse jute fibre (*paissan*) is also twisted for net-making. [171] [439]

Silk-culture is under the ban of Buddhism for the same reason as fishery. The greater part of the silk yarn used is brought from China, but a good deal is produced locally by the *Zabôn* or *Yabôn*, a people speaking Burmese and resembling the Burmans in most respects, but despised by the latter. They are settled along the foot of the Pegu Yôma hill-range, on its eastern and western slopes, where they make clearings in the forest (*taungya*) and plant the mulberry. They prepare a yellow silk yarn which, coarse and knotty as it is, is preferred for the best class of Burman silk cloths (*lungyi*, No. 132). The raw silk fetches thirty-five to forty rupees a viss. It is a perfect washing silk in all its dyes and wears a lifetime. In a few localities, silk-weaving is a special industry practised by men as well as women. Settlers from Manipûr 288 231 [779] 554 463]

216. LIME-KILN.

288 563

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

[opp. p. 118]

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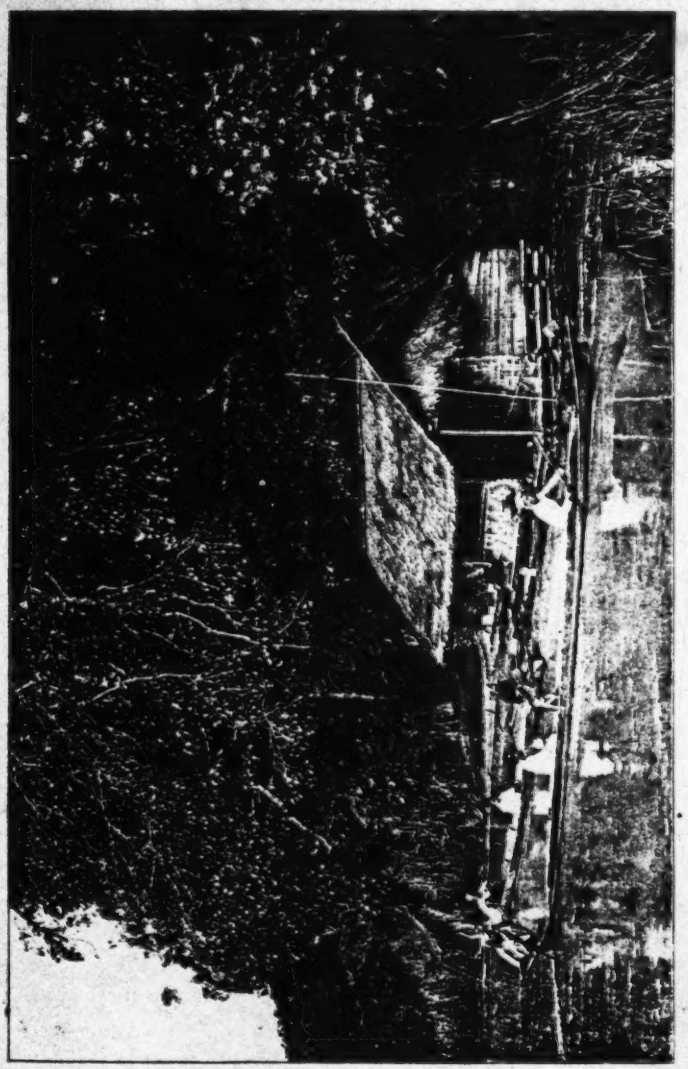

261 TIMBER-SALVER'S HUT.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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282. ROPE-STATION ON THE SALWEEN (KYODAN).

current, a remarkable device is employed. Two ten-foot handspikes, with a shoulder two feet above the point, have mooring-rattans from each end of the raft, one hundred feet long and an inch thick, bent on to them. One of these is sent ashore from the forward end of the raft and worked like a plough in the bank, going deeper as the raft slews round and the tension increases, and so stopping its way by degrees. If the first attempt fails a second is made from the other end of the raft, which is then the forward one. Arrived in port the logs are dragged up the mud-banks by elephants. But when the path is blocked, a powerful elephant sometimes carries a log bodily. The whole of the operations of bringing the timber to market are combined by a timber-broker (forester, *thiggaung*).

● [463]

Teak cuts readily, though it blunts the tools very soon. There is little waste. Sawn planks are displacing bamboo for the better-class houses. Sawyers earn from one-half to one rupee a day. The indigenous carpenter's tools were a small adze (*pègôt*), chisels and gouges (*sauk*), awls (*hsu*), and a rough saw (*khwa*), besides *dâ* and axe (*paussein*). The Burman adopted the Chinese plane (*yuihaw*, "selecting-shave") with the Chinese straddle bench. The English carpenter's rule is also general. When the impulse to good house-building was given by the production of cheap planks, the immigrants from China got the whole of the work. The Burmans have begun to oust them from the heavy carpentering and from the joinery as well. Ordinary Burman carpenters earn ¾ rupee a day, the better workmen 1 to 1¼ rupees a day, compared with the Chinaman's 1½ rupees. The wood-work is left

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[197]
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[563]

283. BINDING THE LOGS INTO RAFTS.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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212
788
[322]

268. BURMAN WOOD-CARVER.

engraved on 729 marble slabs, 4 feet by 3 feet. These, set under as many stucco canopies, are known as the *Kûthodaw* or *Law-kama-yazin* — the royal work of merit (No. 385). They constitute the most important of the King's religious foundations. A number of years were spent by a committee of learned *yahân* in editing the text. Certain portions have since been transferred to type, and

212 in time the whole of this text will be available in print. The development of the round Burmese character out of the square Pâli was favoured by the nature of the material used for writing on—the leaf of the *pe* palm. The fan-leaf is split into its segments, which are piled, and dried under pressure. Then they are trimmed even, and punched with holes to file them by. The leaf is ruled with turmeric, and the writing is done with a sharp steel style, which scratches through the hard epidermis to the spongy layer underneath; both sides are written on. The transverse strokes tear the fibre more, and leave a plainer mark, which leads to a minimising of longitudinal strokes. When the writing is complete, the wooden covers are lacquered, the edges of the leaves gilt, and their faces oiled with crude brown petroleum, which both preserves the material and brings out the writing. The oiling is repeated from time to time. The leaves become dark and friable in fifty years, and the writing hard to decipher. Manuscripts over two hundred years old are scarce. Copyists are paid one rupee per *inga* of ten leaves, the work of a day or two, according to their expertness. Until rag-paper began to be imported, the paper in use was

[531]

[463]

270. CARVED SCENE FROM ZAT.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

Dealers, with the exception of 1164 [463 554]

276. THE LORD OF HELL RECEIVES HIS STEWARD'S ACCOUNT OF THE PAINS INFLICTED ON SINNERS (p. 121).

The dealer in medicine, who is at the same time the physician, do not receive the title *sayá*—teacher, doctor—which is accorded to every master workman. The physician (*séthama sayá*) makes no charge for his advice, but only for his medicines. There is, however, a school of doctors who oppose the use of drugs, and rely upon the regulation of diet and on shampooing; they make their charge for the latter operation. Ague (intermittent fever, *pyá-na*) is the commonest complaint in Burma, which no one escapes. The remittent form of malarial fever is also common. Attacks may be light and pass away of themselves, or they may be severe and protracted. Malaria is the chief cause of mortality. The common treatment is to encourage sweating. Aperients are not resorted to if it can be helped, as the Burmese drugs are drastic. In severe cases the head is shaved. Quinine was at one time making its way in the bazárs; but soon adulteration began to be practised, and it lost repute. The scheme of selling the Government quinine at the post offices may be effectual in rehabilitating the medicine. Santonin worm-tablets likewise had a great reputation until adulteration began. Rheumatism is common in Burma. It is treated by shampooing (*a-khaik*), which in this complaint is most efficacious. *A-khaik* is a kneading of the muscles and nervous plexuses; massage, in the sense of rubbing, is not practised. The expert shampooers possess an empirical knowledge of the inter-dependences in the nervo-muscular system which is remarkable. An attack of lumbago, which would cripple one for days, is cured in half an hour. Vapour baths, over the water of hot springs, are also resorted to. Heart-burn and colic are common ailments.

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277. BURMAN APOTHECARY.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

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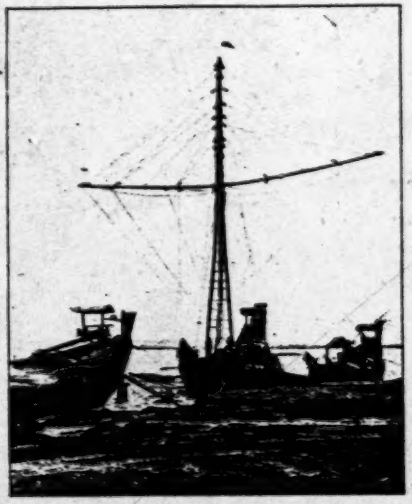

500. LAUNG-ZAT POLING UP-STREAM.

channel in the sand or mud. But it cannot sail near the wind, and it makes great leeway. Only a square-sail is carried. The prow of the boat is solid and the bulk-head above is ornamented with carving. The still more ornamented poop has to be built up in the large boats, to get the full sweep of curve that is obtained in a single piece in the canoe (*laung*). The boat has a good deal of buoyancy even when full of water. The *laung-gyi* is rather crank, a defect which is obviated by the use of bamboo side-buoys (*baw-wa*, No. 176). *Thingán* hulls last twenty to thirty years; the canoe is used up to the last stump. When past repair, it is sawn asunder and boards nailed across the sound pieces. A tub of this kind is a treasure to a child (No. 161). The anchor (*kyauk*) used to be a wood fork weighted with stone; the European pattern is now general. The *laung-gyi* is rowed with the stream only, by three or four sweep-oars; it is poled up-stream. The boatman thrusts his pole from the hollow above the collar-bone. Thus the hands are free to hold the body down to the rail, and every muscle is called into service. No. 289 shows the "tiger" style of poling, No. 298 the "scorpion" style. The crew of the *laung-gyi* consists of three to five men; they get their food and a stipulated sum for the trip, which comes to twelve to sixteen annas per working day. Cargo boats cost from 1,000 to 3,000 rupees, chiefly for the solid hull.

[857]

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501. LAUNG-ZAT LOADING.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

501 [398] [531] [162] [463] 501 439 398 493

307. TYREING THE WHEEL.

a shallow dug-out bottom with three or four side-planks built up from it. The planks are held together by cane lacing, with a caulking of grass. They are very crank, but are good sea-boats, nevertheless. The only decoration is a rough crocodile's head at the bow. The boat population of Burma in 1891 was nearly 84,000, or about 1·5 per cent. of the whole population—"greatly in excess of the proportion borne to the total by the maritime population of the most maritime nation in the world" (Census report, p. 34). The only sea-going craft are the few score *kattu*, small junks of twenty to sixty tons, manned by five or six Taláings. They venture as far to sea as the Nicobars, where they ship cocoanuts in the fine or north-east monsoon. The rest of the year they lie by. The *kattu* are built at Dawè ("Tavoy"), and cost from one to two thousand rupees. They carry a compass of European make, for use in thick weather; but the navigation is empirical.

The cart-building exemplifies the Burman love of curves. In Burma Proper the root-wood of *shâ* (cutch) is dug out for the sake of the bent timber. In Pegu, curved branches of *thingán* are used for the body. For wheels, solid discs of *kaung-kmu* and other woods were used in Pegu, where timber grows large (No. 306). In the North, the solid wheel is still made up of three pieces, held together by mortices and tenons (Nos. 301, 309). *Padáuk* is the wood preferred for these wheels. They have a very long box for the axle, which is of *pangá* wood; the axle-box is hooped with rattan. Since the introduction of spokes and iron tyres, skill has been concentrated on the wheel; the body of the cart preserves its local type. The Burman has proved the best wheelwright of the East, both

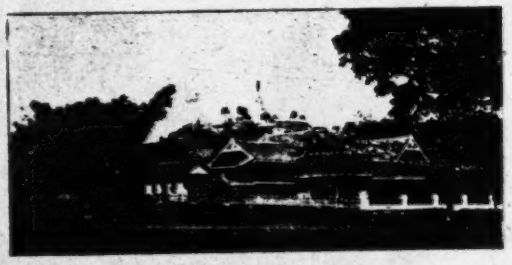
308. PLEASURE-CART, BURMA PROPER.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma API
Indians
Burmese AP4

Ba Bse 241 731 563 trees. All that the villagers asked for (and of course got) was exemption from land-tax. Another hopeful feature is that the Burman is not devoid of the quality of self-criticism. With the Indian retail trader comes also the wholesale merchant—Persian, Parsi, Súrati, Chetti and Bania. And the Burmans at large accept the situation, never dreaming that by travelling abroad and seeing for themselves how other nations manage and how they fare, they might learn to conduct their own business, and help to save Burma from sinking to the level of proletariate countries. Natives of India and China have learned so much in their capacities of assistants to European merchants that they are getting the retail trade in European goods to themselves. Even as importers, with their agents in Europe, they are making themselves independent of the European merchant in the East. The European spheres of activity on which Burmans

Ba Bse 463 [177] 563 438

Ba [341 177]



388. EUROPEAN TYPE OF HOUSE.

have entered are saw-mill enterprise and the profession of advocacy, in which latter they have attained a high standing.

Ba 167 563 To the Burman, the native of India is the foreigner *par excellence*—*Kalâ*—and shares the disrepute that a stay-at-home people commonly accord to the foreigner, especially when he is a needy one. To them he is the dog that eats the crumbs which fall from his table ("*Kwe-Kalâ!*"). While the Chinaman, despite his uncouthness and uncanny parasitic trade, is considered an eligible man, *Kalâ-mayâ*—nigger's-wife—is a term of reproach. The *Kalâ* half-breeds are called *Zerbâdi*. They appear to possess fewer good qualities than either of the pure races. The Euro-Burman half-breeds are called *Bayinji*—(Feringhi, the Indian equivalent of Frank) explained by the Burmans as *Bayin-dyi* (adherent of) the Great Prince (the Pope).

Ba 609 563

Ba Bse 563 Europeans are the only remaining foreigners whom the Burmans encounter, excepting a few Armenians, Jews and Malays. Armenians were beginning to play